

Message Text

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EXDIS MILITARY ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 5725 (261415Z JUL 76) ACTION SECSTATE

INFO ATHENS NICOSIA ADANA ISTANBUL IZMIR USUN NATO 26 JULY 76.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 5725

EXDIS

DEPT PASS TO FOLLOWING MILITARY ADDEES

CINCEUR, USDOCOSOUTH USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST USNMR SHAPE CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE-IN CINCUSAFE-INCFR HQ USEUCOM CINCUSAREUR AND COMSIXTHFLT

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFORN, PLOS, TU, GR

SUBJECT: TURKISH-GREEK EFFORTS TO RESOLVE SISMIK PROBLEM

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1. MFA SECGEN ELEKDAG, ON MONDAY, JULY 26, GAVE

ME A DETAILED RUN-DOWN ON LAST FEW DAYS'

EFFORTS BY TURKISH AND GREEK GOVERNMENTS TO RESOLVE

THEIR DISPUTE OVER THE AEGEAN EXPLORATION ACTIVITIES OF

THE SISMIC I.

2. ON JULY 21, ELEKDAG SAID, GREEK AMBASSADOR COSMADOPOULOS CALLED ON FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AND SAID THE GREEK GOVERNMENT ATTRIBUTED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO CLARIFYING THE MISSION OF THE SISMIC. COSMADOPOULOS NOTED THAT IN A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON JULY 14, CAGLAYANGIL HAD SAID THAT THE SISMIC WOULD OPERATE IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE AEGEAN. COSMADOPOULOS THEN EMPHASIZED THAT IN THE AEGEAN, OPEN SEAS EXIST ONLY FOR NAVIGATIONAL PURPOSES, AND THAT UNTIL THERE WERE SOME DELIMITATION, THESE AREAS ARE PART OF THE GREEK CONTINENTAL SHELF. ON THE OTHER HAND, COSMADOPOULOS NOTED THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD ALSO SAID THAT THE SHIP'S RESEARCH WOULD BE OF A SCIENTIFIC NATURE. THE GOG BELIEVED, COSMADOPOULOS SAID, THAT IF TURKEY DID NOT WANT TO PROVOKE GREECE, IT SHOULD CLARIFY THE SHIP'S MISSION. COSMADOPOULOS ALSO SAID THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD WARNED IN HIS JULY 14 STATEMENT THAT IF THERE WERE INTERFERENCES WITH THE SISMIC, TURKEY WOULD RETALIATE. COSMADOPOULOS DECLARED THAT THE GOG DID NOT WANT THE SISMIC TO POISON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS. HOWEVER, HE RECALLED, THE GOG HAD GIVEN A NOTE TO THE GOT ON JULY 14, 1974, WITH REFERENCE TO THE DIPUTED AEGEAN EXPLORATIONS OF THE TURKISH SHIP CANDARLI IN SPRING 1974, STATING THAT GREECE RESERVED ALL ITS RIGHTS IN THE AEGEAN FOLLOWING THE CANDARLI'S VOYAGE. THUS, COSMADOPOULOS SAID, IF TURKEY CONDUCTED RESEARCH OVER THE GREEK CONTINENTAL SHELF, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR TURKEY TO ASSUME THAT GREECE WOULD NOT RPT NOT INTERVENE.

3. IN RESPONSE, ELEKDAG SAID, FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL TOLD COSMADOPOULOS THAT THERE ARE CONTINENTAL SHELF AREAS IN THE AEGEAN CLAIMED BY BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. A PARTY CANNOT GAIN THE RIGHT OF POSSESSION IN SUCH A CASE SIMPLY BY A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OR CLAIM, CAGLAYANGIL SAID. THE RIGHT OF POSSESSION COULD BE ACQUIRED AFTER AN UNDERSTANDING AS TO THE DELIMINATION OF THE SHELF WAS REACHED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. SINCE THERE IS NO SUCH UNDERSTANDING, THE CLAIMS TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTINENTAL SHELF ARE OF A LITIGIOUS CHARACTER, AND NEITHER PARTY CAN CLAIM POSSESSION. CAGLAYANGIL WENT ON TO SAY THAT GREECE LONG AGO COMPLETED RESEARCH IN THE AEGEAN WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM TURKEY, WHILE TURKEY HAD INITIATED SIMILAR RESEARCH (WITH THE CANDARLI AND THE NORWEGIAN SHIP LONGVA) BUT HAD NOT COMPLETED IT. A DECISION TO CONTINUE AND COMPLETE THE RESEARCH WAS TAKEN BY THE GOT TWO YEARS AGO. CAGLAYANGIL MADE CLEAR THAT THE SISMIC RESEARCH WOULD NOT RPT NOT CAUSE A PHYSICAL OR A LEGAL CHANGE IN THE AEGEAN. THERE WOULD BE NO DRILLING, HE SAID. THERE WOULD BE NO RPT NO EFFECT ON THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY OR SOVEREIGNTY. BOTH COUNTRIES' RESPECTIVE POSITIONS WOULD BE RESERVED. THE GOT WOULD TAKE CARE NOT TO CREATE A PROVOCATION.

4. CAGLAYANGIL THEN TOLD COSMADOPOULOS, ELEKDAG SAID, THAT HE HAD PROPOSED WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE SISMİK SAIL WITHOUT PROTECTION. HOWEVER, THE TURKISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAD TOLD HIM THAT BECAUSE THE POSSIBILITY OF GREEK MILITARY INTERVENTION EXISTED, THE SHIP SHOULD NOT RPT NOT SAIL WITHOUT ESCORT. BUT, CAGLAYANGIL SAID,

IF THE GOG GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INTERVENTION OR INTERFERENCE, THE SISMİK WOULD SAIL WITHOUT PROTECTION.

5. COSMADOPOULOS' REACTION, ELEKDAG SAID, WAS TO ASK WHETHER CAGLAYANGIL WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ALONG THE LINES THAT THERE WAS NO CONNECTION BETWEEN THE RESEARCH AND RIGHTS TO THE CONTINENTAL SHELF. HE FURTHER ASKED WHETHER, IF THE GOG ACCEPTED SUCH A STATEMENT AS ADEQUATE, THE GOT WOULD BE WILLING TO SEND OUT THE SISMİK WITHOUT AN ESCORT. THE FONMIN SAID THAT HE WOULD BE SO WILLING

6. THE NEXT CAGLAYANGIL-COSMADOPOULOS MEETING WAS ON FRIDAY, JULY 23, ELEKDAG SAID. AT THAT TIME, COSMADOPOULOS BROUGHT A PROPOSAL FROM THE GOG THAT THE SISMİK'S SAILING BE PRECEDED BY A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE GOT CONTAINING THESE POINTS:

BEGIN QUOTE

A. THE SISMİK WILL CONDUCT SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION ON THE SURFACE NOT REPEAT NOT AIMING AT EITHER EXPLORATION OR EXPLOITATION OF THE AEGEAN NATURAL RESOURCES.

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B. THIS RESEARCH SHALL NOT PRE-JUDGE OR ESTABLISH RIGHTS, SOVEREIGN OR OTHERWISE, OF THE TWO PARTIES IN THOSE PARTS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WHERE IT IS CONDUCTED. END QUOTE IN ADDITION TO THIS PUBLIC STATEMENT, ELEKDAG SAID, THE GOT ASKED THAT THE GOT COMMUNICATE TO THE GOT IN ADVANCE ITS ENTIRE PROGRAM OF RESEARCH IN THE AEGEAN, AND THAT IT SUBSEQUENTLY PROVIDE ALSO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH. COSMADOPOULOS TOLD CAGLAYANGIL THAT WITH THESE CONDITIONS, THE GOG WOULD GIVE ITS ASSURANCES THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INTERFERENCE IN THE SISMİK'S ACTIVITIES AND THAT GREECE WOULD LIMIT ITSELF TO THE DISCREET SHADOWING OF THE SISMİK BY A GREEK NAVAL UNIT. COSMADOPOULOS ADDED THAT IN VIEW OF SUCH ASSURANCES, THE GOG WOULD EXPECT THE SISMİK TO SAIL WITHOUT AN ESCORT OR AIR OR NAVAL PROTECTION.

7. ELEKDAG SAID THAT CAGLAYANGIL'S RESPONSE WAS THAT THE GOT DID NOT ACCEPT ANY "CONDITIONALITY". (THAT IS, ELEKDAG SAID, THE GOT DID NOT WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SISMİK'S ACTIVITIES WERE BEING PERMITTED BY THE GREEKS UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS) CAGLAYANGIL ALSO SAID THAT NO APPEARANCE OF A TURKISH-GREEK AGREEMENT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THEIR TALKS.

8. LATER THAT SAME DAY (JULY 23), ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE HIMSELF MET WITH COSMADOPOULOS AND MFA INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIRECTOR SOYLEMEZ, SINCE THE MINISTER HAD GIVEN ELEKDAG THE ASSIGNMENT OF WORKING OUT THE LANGUAGE OF THE PUBLIC STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY THE GOT. HE SAID THEY ARRIVED AT AN AGREED TEXT WHICH WAS ACCEPTED AD REFERENDUM BY COSMADOPOULOS. THE AGREEMENT PROVIDED THAT THE GOT'S STATEMENT WOULD INTER ALIA CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. BY SENDING OUT THE SISMIK, THE GOT WOULD PROCEED WITH PURELY SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH REGARDING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WITHOUT AIMING AT THE EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES. (ELEKDAG NOTED THAT THEY HAD DELETED THE WORD "EXPLORATION" REQUESTED BY THE GREEKS AS WELL AS THE PHRASE "ON THE SURFACE.")

B. AS THE QUESTION OF THE AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF HAS NOT RPT NOT BEEN SETTLED AND THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES ON THIS MATTER HAVE BEEN RESERVED, THIS RESEARCH SHALL NEITHER PREJUDGE NOR ESTABLISH SOVEREIGN OR OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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RIGHTS FOR THE TWO STATES IN THOSE PARTS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WHERE IT SHALL BE CONDUCTED.

C. IN ORDER NOT RPT NOT TO DISTURB THE INTERNA-TIONAL MARITIME TRAFFIC IN THE AEGEAN, THE GOT SHALL ANNOUNCE SUFFICIENTLY IN ADVANCE THOSE REGIONS OF THE AEGEAN WHERE THE SISMIK WILL PROCEED FOR RESEARCH. END QUOTE

9. ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE TOLD COSMADOPOULOS THAT THE GOT WOULD ISSUE ITS NOTICES TO MARINERS (IN COMPLIANCE WITH SUBPARA C ABOVE) ONE WEEK IN ADVANCE, AND THUS THE GOG WOULD KNOW WHERE THE SISMIK WAS PROCEEDING. HE ALSO TOLD COSMADOPOULOS THAT IF THE GOG WOULD GIVE THE GOT THE RESULTS OF GREEK RESEARCH IN THE AEGEAN, THE GOT WOULD RECI-PROCATE. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD, HE SAID, THAT A GREEK NAVAL SHIP WOULD DISCREETLY SHADOW THE SISMIK. ELEKDAG COMMENTED TO ME THAT HE AND COSMADOPOULOS BELIEVED THEY WERE REACHING AGREEMENT THAT NIGHT.

10. HOWEVER, ELEKDAG SAID, THE FOLLOWING EVENING (JULY24) COSMADOPOULOS RETURNED TO ELEKDAG'S OFFICE TO CONVEY THE GOT RESPONSE. THE FIRST POINT OF THAT RESPONSE WAS THAT THE GOG REQUESTED THAT THE WHOLE PROGRAM OF THE SISMIK, FOR WHATEVER PERIOD IT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT("THREE MONTHS, SIX MONTHS", ELEKDAG SAID) BE HANDED OVER TO ATHENS IN ADVANCE. THE NEXT POINT WAS THAT THE SISMIK WOULD BE ESCORTED BY A GREEK NAVAL UNIT. THE ESCORT WOULD NOT INTERFERE BUT WOULD BE VISIBLE. UNDER THE CONDITIONS, COSMADOPOULOS TOLD ELEKDAG, GREECE WAS PREPARED NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE SISMIK'S MISSION.

1. ELEKDAG TOLD ME THAT HE HAD ASKED WITH JUSTIFICATION THE GOG HAD FOR REQUESTING SISMIK'S ENTIRE PROGRAM,

AND COSMADOPOULOS HAD REPLIED THAT THE GOG WANTED TO AVOID THE CREATION OF " CONFLICTING SITUATIONS" AND "UNPLEASANTNESS". ELEKDAG SAID HE HAD COMMENTED THAT THE PROVISION OF A NOTICE TO MARINERS ONE WEEK IN ADVANCE WOULD GIVE ATHENS ADEQUATE ABILITY TO PREVENT CONFLICTING SITUATIONS, AND THUS THE REQUEST ON THOSE GROUNDS SEEMED UNFOUNDED. ALSO, ELEKDAG MAINTAINED, COMMUNICATION THE SISMİK'S ENTIRE PROGRAM WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO RECOGNIZING THE GREEK CLAIM TO THE ENTIRE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND THE RIGHT TO GIVE APPROVAL FOR RESEARCH. HE, THEREFORE, CONFIDENTIAL

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HAD TOLD COSMADOPOULOS THAT THIS REQUEST WAS UNACCEPTABLE.

12. " ESCORT" OF THE SISMİK BY A GREEK NAVAL UNIT, ELEKDAG TOLD COSMADOPOULOS, WAS ALSO UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT WOULD GIVE THE APPEARANCE THAT THE SISMİK'S OPERATION WAS BEING CARRIED ON WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE GOG. ELEKDAG HAD ALSO COMMENTED THAT IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHY, IF SISMİK WAS NOT TO BE ESCORTED BY A TURKISH SHIP, THERE WOULD BE ANY NEED FOR A GREEK SHIP TO ESCORT IT.

13. CONCLUDING HIS BRIEFING, ELEKDAG COMMENTED SADLY:
"OUR EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN IN GOOD WILL HAVE FAILED."

14. I ASKED ELEKDAG IF HE WAS SURE THE GREEKS REALLY MEANT THAT THEY WANTED TO SEND AN ESCORT VESSEL RATHER THAN A SHADOW SHIP. I COULD PERHAPS SEE THE TURKISH CONCERN OVER THE SOVEREIGNTY IMPLICATIONS OF AN ESCORT SHIP BUT NAVAL SHADOW OPERATIONS GO ON ALL THE TIME AND CARRY NO SOVEREIGNTY IMPLICATIONS WHATSOEVER. (I WAS SURE, I SAID, THAT THE KIEV WAS BEING CURRENTLY SHADOWED IN THE MED BUT THIS RAISED NO IMPLICATIONS REGARDING THE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SEABED THERE.) ELEKDAG SAID UNFORTUNATELY THERE COULD BE NO CONFUSION AS TO WHAT THE GREEKS HAD IN MIND. WHAT THEY HAD IN MIND WAS AN ESCORTING NOT SHADOWING OPERATION--AND THIS, HE REPEATED, WAS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY.

15. I TOLD ELEKDAG THAT, DESPITE THE CURRENT IMPASSE, I REGARDED THE EFFORT THAT HE AND THE GREEK AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN MAKING AS COMMENDABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE. I SAID I REMAINED HOPEFUL THAT THEIR COMMON EFFORT WOULD YET ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY RESULT. HOWEVER, ELEKDAG REPEATED THAT HE WAS VERY DISCOURAGED. APPARENTLY THE GREEKS WERE INSISTENT, HE SAID, ON A STATEMENT WHICH SEEMED TO RECOGNIZE GREEK SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL THE AEGEAN SHELF AND TURKISH SCIENTIFIC OPERATIONS POSSIBLE THERE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF PRIOR GREEK PERMISSION. IN ADDITION, HIS EFFORT TO KEEP NAVAL VESSELS, BOTH GREEK AND TURK, OUT OF THE PICTURE HAD OBVIOUSLY FAILED. AND FINALLY, SAID ELEKDAG, ECEVIT'S RECENT STATEMENTS (ANKARA 5697 AND PREVIOUS) WERE MAKING IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE HAVING

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AN IMPACT ON TURKISH OFFICIALS AS WELL AS CABINET MINISTERS.

16. I ASKED WHETHER HE AND COSMADOPOULOS WOULD BE MEETING AGAIN. ELEKDAG SAID THAT THERE WERE NO RPT NO PLANS FOR ANOTHER MEETING AND THAT THE SHIP WOULD BE SAILING. SINCE THE GOG HAD NOT GIVEN ANY ASSURANCES, THE SISMİK WOULD HAVE TO SAIL UNDER PROTECTION WHEN IT ENTERED INTERNATIONAL WATERS.

17. I ASKED WHEN THE SISMİK WOULD ENTER THE AEGEAN. ELEKDAG FIRST SAID THAT THE SHIP WAS IN THE SEA OF MARMARA AND WOULD BE HEADING FOR SAROS BAY PROBABLY IN ABOUT TWO DAYS. HE THOUGH THE SISMİK WOULD SPEND ABOUT TEN DAYS SURVEYING IN AND AROUND SAROUS BAY. SPREADING OUT A MAP SHOWING OVERLAPPING OIL PROSPECTING LICENSES GRANTED BY GREECE AND TURKEY, HE INDICATED THAT THE SISMİK PROBABLY WOULD ENTER INTERNATIONAL WATERS IN THE VICINITY OF THE GREEK ISLAND OF SAMOTHRACE, OFF THE MOUTH OF SAROS BAY. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE SHIP WOULD NOT RPT NOT ENTER GREEK TERRITORIAL WATERS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT ALL THE AEGEAN BEYOND TURKEY'S TERRITORIAL WATERS WAS NOT RPT NOT OWNED BY GREECE.

18. NOTING THAT TIMING WAS VERY IMPORTANT, I REPEATED MY QUESTION BY ASKING WHEN THE SHIP WOULD PASS THROUGH THE DARDANELLES. ELEKDAG SAID THAT TURKEY WAS ISSUING A NOTICE TO MARINERS TODAY (JULY 26) AND THAT IT MIGHT WAIT ONE WEEK IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COURTESY THAT IS USUAL IN CONNECTION WITH SUCH NOTICES. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT HE COULD NOT PIN HIMSELF DOWN. HE NOTED THAT THE GOT, DUE TO "PRESSURES" (APPARENTLY REFERRING TO ECEVIT'S CRITICISM) COULD NOT RPT NOT KEEP THE SISMİK OUT OF ACTION FOR LONG.

19. COMMENT: IMMEDIATELY UPON RETURNING TO MY OFFICE, I CALLED AMBASSADOR COSMADOPOULOS AND HAVE ARRANGED TO SEE HIM THIS AFTERNOON. AFTER GETTING HIS VERSION OF THE DISCUSSIONS, I WILL BE REPORTING ANY SIGNIFICANT VARIATIONS TOGETHER WITH EMBASSY'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

20. I AM NOT AS DISCOURAGED AS ELEKDAG SAYS HE IS. I THINK LATE LAST WEEK'S EFFORT WAS A CONSTRUCTIVE ONE AND WE NEED NOW TO FIND A WAY TO KEEP BOTH PARTIES PURSUING IT TO A
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SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.
MACOMBER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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